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173 at the time of the Peruvian raid and that he was carried away with his son, Maurata. Since Maurata probably died after his father, he might well be considered the last king of Easter Island. Geiseler (87, p. 22), speaking of Maurata as the last king of the island, adds that "he was kidnapped with his brother Kaimakoi." Cooke (54, p. 713), the surgeon of the *Mohican*, makes Maurata and Kaimakoi one and the same person: "The last king of the Rapa nuiis, Maurata, also called Kaimakoi . . . "

Gregorio, the child king who died in 1866 at the age of 12, succeeded Te Pito who is given by Jaussen as the successor of Maurata. Te Pito was one of the few Easter Islanders to be returned from the Chincha Islands. In De Lapelin's notes (129, p. 109), Te Pito is mentioned as the brother of Kaimakoi and Gregorio. Very likely he was the brother of Kaimakoi and the paternal uncle of Maurata, but he can hardly have been the brother of Gregorio. Palmer's allusion (171, p. 181) to the son of Rotopito (Te Pito), who died in 1864, possibly refers to Gregorio who would thus have been the son of Te Pito. Such uncertainty about the names of important men of only two generations ago makes one skeptical of the historical usefulness of the lists. Only Thomson's document seems to be accurate in the names of the last kings.

643 With the death of Gregorio in 1866 the kingship came to an end. Missionaries and travelers mention no successor. Pinart (178, p. 236) speaks of Koreto as the queen of the island, but his statements are not always reliable. Koreto's position as wife of Dutroux-Bornier, the despotic ruler of the island, undoubtedly gave her exceptional power. One of Koreto's children is still living, but I have never heard that she had the slightest royal prerogative or pretention. Koreto was only the wife of a chief (215, p. 473) before she became the mistress of Dutroux-Bornier. When Geiseler (87, p. 23) inquired about her, he was told that a queen of that name had never existed. A man called Kaitae was designated to Thomson (215, p. 461) and Cooke (54, p. 713) as the descendant and successor of the last king of Easter Island. Routledge and I have shown Thomson's photograph of Kaitae to the islanders, but even the oldest informant remembers neither the man nor his name.

Not until Chile had taken possession of the island did the question of a king again arise. Although the islanders of today speak of the late kings, Atamu Te Kena and Riroroko, as if they were really kings, informants make it clear that their power was indefinite, and that they enjoyed few of the prerogatives of former *ariki*. Perhaps their only claim to the title lay in their descent line; both belonged to the Miru group. Personal pretention supported by Chilean officers who needed a responsible intermediary to deal with the population might have contributed toward the restoration of power to this fictitious and ephemeral royalty. Atamu Te Kena Maurata was made a "king" by the Bishop of Tahiti, Tepano Jaussen, who needed some one on the island to represent the interests of the missionaries. (See Estella, 79, p. 118.) He

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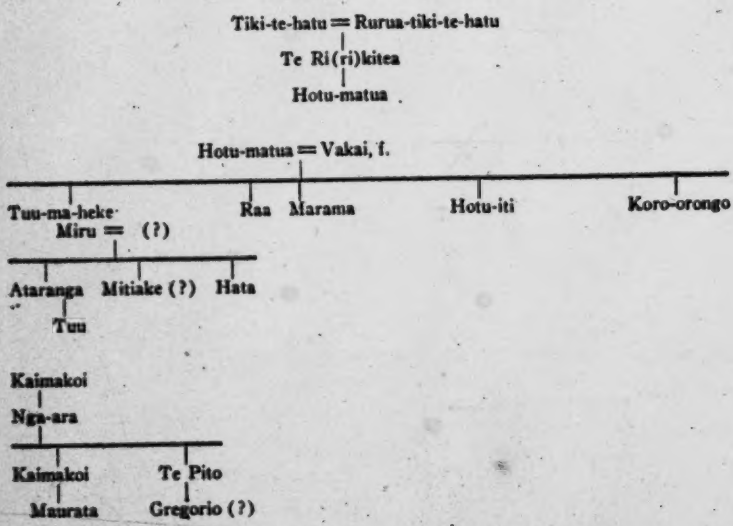
died about 1890 and was succeeded by Rirorokо. In 1898 Rirorokо went to Chile to complain about abuses perpetrated on the natives. He died a few days after landing in Valparaiso, probably from overindulgence in brandy. Since his time, there has been no other king on the island. Twenty years ago the Chilean officers of the *Baquedano* tried to proclaim my informant, Juan Tepano, king (219, p. 21). His new dignity was conferred upon him in a public ceremony, but no one took it very seriously, not even the new sovereign himself. There is still on the island a Rirorokо, son of the late king, who could pretend to royal dignity, but he seems disinterested.

I have tried to reconstruct from the bits of evidence at hand a few genealogical sequences. I realize well upon what uncertain bases these conjectural genealogies rest, but they serve to show how arbitrarily the lists of kings have been formed.

Reconstructed Genealogies



We shall never know who were the old *ariki-mau* of the island or how many reigned before the collapse of native culture. The most trustworthy document, if the personality of the collector and the time he spent on Easter Island are considered, is Roussel's original list. It must have contained 22 names, which do not correspond to the same number of generations. At least five generations should be deleted from the list, leaving about 18. Routledge and I both record 30 kings. The length of Thomson's list (57 kings) is

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173 possible only because mythical names are mixed with historical ones and series
174 of names seem to have been grouped quite arbitrarily. There is no hint in
643 any of the lists that the first kings were mythical characters. Any guess concerning the actual number of generations of kings would be quite unfounded. Perhaps it was between 20 and 30 for the reigns were short, since it was the custom for the kings to abdicate when their sons married.

POLYNESIAN TRADITIONS OF VOYAGES TO EASTER ISLAND

From Rapa

173 Forty years ago Couteaud, a French surgeon, visited Rapa several times. He claims to have heard there the following traditions (55, pp. 90, 91) which he probably adapted to Rapa from the legends of Hotu-matua and the Long-ears, learned from Alexander Salmon:

> Long ago, Hotu-matua, king of Rapa, was vanquished in war. He fled with his retainers in three canoes loaded with food. Westerly winds drove them to Rapa-nui. Only the king's canoe filled with fowls, bananas, and taro roots could cover the great distance separating the two islands. Rapa-nui was inhabited by warriors with long ears, who were killed by the invaders. Only the women and girls were spared. Since that time, twenty-two generations of kings have reigned on Rapa-nui. The first king was Hotu-matua, and the names of the entire dynasty are preserved in modern documents.
>
> After a long voyage a canoe from Rapa-nui arrived at Rapa. It contained only women, who landed half dead of hunger and thirst. No man lived then on the empty land of Rapa. The women did not know how to perpetuate their race. On the advice of one of their number, they dived into the sea, stretched their arms toward Rapa-nui, and called on their gods. Their prayers were granted. Some became pregnant and the race was established forever.

Couteaud interprets the last legend as expressing merely a close connection between the two islands. He adds (55, p. 91): " . . . the accounts of the old men assert that both countries recognized the authority of one king residing on Rapa, whose last descendant I met twenty-five years ago." The few papers published by Couteaud have no scientific value, and his traditions of former migrations to Easter Island are mentioned here only because they are substantiated by further evidence collected by Stokes (212). The best informants of Stokes, Teraau and Ngariki, gave him three accounts of voyages from Rapa to Easter Island, which indicate that in Rapa there definitely existed a tradition of a migration to the east. These are presented in the chronological order adopted by the natives:

> Tamatiki, son and grandson of Tiki, the first man in Rapa, voyaged to Easter Island and named it Rapa-taaga after his own land. He died in Easter Island, and news of his arrival, his descendants, and his death in that island reached Rapa many generations later through Te Kotokoto.
>
> In the second voyage, Temarango, also known as Rango, left Rapa with three canoes, each containing forty men and no women. One canoe stopped at Morotiti, about fifty miles to the east. Another canoe was never heard of again. The third canoe, under Temarango, reached its objective.
>
> Te Kotokoto, a native of Rapa, went to Easter Island and lived there until extremely

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the village. This representation is confirmed by Lisiansky's description (143, p. 56) of the same village, seen in 1803. Delano (5, p. 356) observed that along Hanga-roa Bay were a big house and many more of different form. 361

In 1866, most of the natives still lived in Anakena (81, p. 53) and in 1872 a number of them were in La Pérouse (145, p. 65). The missionaries first attempted to concentrate the population in Hangaroa and Vaihu (215, p. 453).

Geiseler (87, p. 40) noticed ruins of houses at the following places: on the south coast Hotu-iti, Rano-raraku, Hanga-te-tenga, Hanga-mai-iku, Akahanga, Vaihu and Vinapu; on the west coast Ahu-a-kapú, Ahu-te-peu; on the north coast Vai-mata, Hangoteo; Te Akaue, Anakena, Hanga-o-honu, Mahatua. The precipitous east coast, from Cape O'Higgins to Cape Roggeveen, bears no sign of occupancy although the presence of an ahu seems to prove that this coast was not entirely uninhabited.

The large village mentioned by Thomson (215, pp. 486-487) must refer to the houses between Tahai and Ahu-te-peu (village of Ana-o-hoka). There are remains of several houses, though some have been pulled down by Williamson-Balfour Company agents for stones to build their walls.

CLASSES OF SOCIETY

There were four grades or classes in the Easter Island society: *ariki* (noblemen), *ivi-atua* (priests), *matatoa* (warriors), and *kio* (servants or farmers). This schematic outline made by Roussel (190, p. 660) is only superficially exact. It does not indicate the actual position of the aristocracy and of the commoners and does not include the specialized groups like those of the experts (*maori*). 565

The ruler of the hierarchy was the principal high chief (*ariki-mau*) whom the missionaries and the present natives designate as "king of the island." As descendant of Hotu-matua by right of primogeniture, the king had great prestige which was increased by the sacredness of his person although his political influence was slight. The term *ariki-paka*, applied indiscriminately to all the Miru, expressed a real or fictitious relationship which every Miru could claim with the king's family (p. 126). The ancestors of several tribes were supposed to have been younger sons of Hotu-matua, but there is no evidence in literature or in modern traditions that the *ariki* title was held by tribes other than the Miru. Here there is a striking parallel with Mangaia where only one tribe established *ariki* titles (31, p. 103). On Easter Island, as on Mangareva, the commoners were called *kurumanu*. 643 619 554 565

KING

Information about the nature of kingship in ancient times has been derived from letters and reports of missionaries, especially the notes of Father Roussel, and from anecdotes and details remembered by native informants. According 643

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643 to Roussel (190, p. 358) kings, who in the beginning were considered deities and had absolute power on the island, did not retain such authority for long but kept only the prestige of a supernatural power and certain personal privileges. The political power of the king was slight, at least during the last period of Easter Island history; his exalted position rested mainly on the religious beliefs of the natives, and his functions, although limited, had a strong bearing upon the magico-economic structure of the island culture. (For a detailed discussion of the functions of Easter Island kingship, see Métraux, The kings of Easter Island: Polynesian Soc., Jour., vol. 46, pp. 41-62, 1937.)

POSSESSION OF DIVINE MANA

643 773 778 The *ariki-mau* or king of Easter Island was a divine chief who had mana (supernatural power) and was therefore surrounded by tapus; as a member of the Honga lineage of the Miru tribe he was descended from the gods Tangaroa and Rongo. (See genealogy, p. 127.) The following legend shows how a king with an oversupply of mana might bring calamity to his people:

> The king Nga-ara slept with three wives, all of whom became pregnant and gave birth to sons. The first two sons had no mana but the third son, Rokoroko-te-tau, mysteriously possessed it. The people brought flower wreaths and standards for Rokoroko-he-tau whom they considered king. Sharks and seals came to the island and chased and ate the people, and white fowls appeared. These three things, together with a white feather diadem, manifested the power of Rokoroko-he-tau. Nga-ara was afraid that the sharks and seals would kill all the people, so he stole Rokoroko-he-tau during the night and hid him near the Rano-aroi and later killed him. The sharks, seals, and white fowls disappeared, never to return.

This brief legend emphasizes the extreme importance of mana; in spite of the tradition that succession to title went to the eldest son, the first two sons of Nga-ara were disregarded because they had no mana, and the third son, who possessed it, was considered king. Throughout Polynesia the birth [787] of the divine chief was often associated with many portents and wonders, but in this tale the phenomena which accompanied the king's birth were emanations from his mana and were the cause of his destruction.

Another legend, strange and incomprehensible in its present form, deals with the mana of the king and of his miraculous birth. Although there is no way of knowing whether this tale refers to a legendary king with great mana or to the son of the god Tangaroa, it contributes to a better understanding of the various aspects of a king's personality.

> Tangaroa and his brother went to the beach at Hangavee one night. After catching some fish they went on to Huareva and to Akahanga. At Anavaero Tangaroa copulated with a hen which he saw sitting on a stone. The two brothers continued to Hanga-nui, where they fished, and to Vaimangaro where they bathed in the sea. There Tangaroa killed the hen, plucked it, and put it in a basin. Both returned to Tuu-tapu. An old woman from Hanga-nui went to the well at Vaimangaro. There she heard a child crying from inside the stomach of the hen in the basin. She took the child to her home, cared

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for him, and named him Tu-ki-haka-he-vari (Curled-up-as-a-chicken-in-an-egg). He grew up and stayed with her at Hakarava. One day he asked the old woman, "Where is my father?" She replied, "There, where there is a dark cloud." Then the boy called to the people, "Make a litter to carry me to Tuu." This the people did and they accompanied him to Pare where he remained. Some died on the way, others died after they had returned to their homes, because of the mana of Tu-ki-haka-he-vari.

Here, as in the preceding tale, the king's mana is so strong that it becomes deadly to those who carry him. Moreover, the king is carried on a litter; probably to prevent any contact between the ground and the mana embodied in him. This is the only hint of such a custom on Easter Island, but the attitude fits the Polynesian pattern of culture.

TAPUS

The sacredness of the *ariki-mau* obliged both him and the people of lesser rank to subject themselves to a series of restrictions in their mutual relations. No one could touch any part of the king's body without running the risk of falling dead or of suffering severe pain. There is no doubt that the head of the king was the most sacred part of his person—so sacred that he was obliged to let his "hair grow without ever allowing the *mataa* (obsidian knife) to pass through it" (190, p. 360). The head of every man was more or less tapu (p. 103), but probably only the king's head was so sacred that the hair on it could not be cut. When the missionaries wanted to cut the hair of the little Gregorio, the last king of the island, "the child opposed it firmly and yielded only through force or fear." The anger was so general that "the hairdresser was on the point of being stoned when he achieved his work" (190, p. 360).

The hands of the king were also tapu. The only activities permitted to him were making fishing lines and nets and fishing in canoes. The extremely contagious nature of his mana extended to all his belongings which were consequently tapu. "Their huts, their enclosure, their food, their entire persons and everything they used were tapu for other persons of both sexes" (190, p. 360).

It was not permissible to see the king or his son eat or sleep, and none but his servants who were noblemen (*ariki*) were allowed to enter his house. There were two classes of servants, the *tuura* and the *haka-paapa*. The first provided for the maintenance of the king, tilling the soil, gathering seashells, and fishing for him; and the latter attended the king in the capacity of valets and served his meals. A fragment of legend mentions only one *tuura* and one *hakapaapa*, but the informant who dictated the legend told me on another occasion that there were several of each class of servants, though he was not sure of the number. I am unable to tell what truth there is in Palmer's statement (168, p. 282) that next to the king there was a "prime minister, who was obliged to be a celibate."

Several foods were tapu to the king. He could never eat rats and it is

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643 quite possible that the same tapu applied to the other members of the Miru
262 tribe (194, p. 242). The *mahore, kotea, pahika, teteme,* and *kahi* (tuna) were
784 the only fish allowed the king. The tapu on tuna fishing during the winter months (p. 173) did not apply to the king and a few noblemen. During the tapu period expert fishermen went to catch tuna in the king's boat which was called *vaka-vaero* and was decorated with cock feathers. All fish caught from the *vaka-vaero* were presented to the king, who kept them for his own use or, more often, distributed them among the important old men (*tangata-honui*). The first *kahi* taken after the lifting of the tapu in summer were taken to the king, who tasted a bit and gave the rest to the *tangata-honui.* The food for the king was strictly tapu and only the *haka-paapa* could touch it.

DRESS

643 The dress of the king was similar to that of any wealthy man. He wore
291 a beautiful tapa cloak stained yellow (*nua*) with turmeric and "feather hats
386 of various descriptions." From his neck, both back and front, hung six
301 wooden balls (*tahonga*) and six small wooden crescents (*rei-miro*) with
826 small shell tassels (*rei-pipipipi*) dangling from them. The only distinguishing physical characteristic of the sons of kings was an alleged growth of down under the eyes.

RESIDENCE

644 Nga-ara, the last king who died with full rank, had his headquarters at
764 Anakena, which is the most pleasant part of the island. This was the beach
533 chosen by the discoverers of the island for their king, Hotu-matua. There Hotu-matua landed and died. From that time on the bones of the kings and of the members of the Honga lineage were buried in the ahus which still surround the cove. Near them are to be seen the foundations of a school of chanters, in front of which people gathered to hear the recitations and chants. Modern natives are fond of this cove where hills dominate a long beach which slopes gently to the sea and where swimming is pleasant (pl. 1, *B*).

173 According to a tradition which I was unable to check, each new king went
644 to live at Ahu-a-kapu, near Tahai on the west coast. Later, when he had yielded his authority to his son, he went to ahu Tahai and then to Anakena where he spent his last years. Nga-ara was the only king who died in Tahai, and his remains were buried in the large ahu there. The young princes were raised in a village called Papa-o-pea, near ahu Ohau, not far from Ahu-te-peu. The literature on Easter Island contains only one allusion to the kings' changes of residence. However, Routledge (194, p. 279) has recorded a tradition in which Hotu-matua quarreled with his eldest son, Tuu-ma-heke, to whom he ceded his position and then retired to the top of the Rano-kao, where he lived on the southern side of the crater, opposite Orongo. Traditions

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connected with the ruins of Anakena prove that it was an important site and the one most closely associated with the memory of kings. There is no doubt that it was a royal residence, but with the present lack of knowledge, the frequent and obligatory changes of the king's home are inexplicable and will undoubtedly remain so. Perhaps such changes concerned only a few kings of historical times and cannot be generalized.

SUCCESSION TO POWER

A king resigned his power in favor of his first-born son when he married. My informant, Juan Tepano, was positive about this fact which is confirmed by Roussel (190, p. 360): "The king resigned on the occasion of the marriage of his son, but his wedding could be delayed for a long time, since the custom of the country allowed him to marry only at an advanced age." This custom is similar to that in Mangareva where the chief yielded the rule to his son before his death. In the Marquesas, if Gracia's statement (91, p. 103) is correct, the eldest son of the chief took the title and rank of his father on the day of his birth while the old chief remained a sort of regent. In Tahiti, the child of a chief took the title and office of his father soon after birth; during the minority of the child the "father exercised all authority, though in the name of the child" (70, vol. 1, p. 260).

INFLUENCE OVER NATURE

The bearing of the king on the magico-economic activity of his people is shown not only in the influence of his mana on the welfare of the people but also in his power over nature. When King Tuu-ma-heke was born a new mollusk called *kovare* appeared in the sea. White chickens multiplied at the birth of King Rokoroko-he-tau. There is still a belief among the natives that a great many plants vanished from the island with the kings who controlled them. The favorite variety of sweet potato called *huatea* is no longer found on Easter Island for it could not exist without the king who made it grow, explained my informant. Since the kidnapping of Maurata and his family no tortoises have appeared on the shore.

The following chant celebrated the king's beneficent influence upon nature, especially on the sources of staple foods. The chant is here presented as reconstructed and retranslated by me with the aid of Tepano. It had formerly been transcribed freely and erroneously by Thomson (251, pp. 523-524).

What does the king make fertile in the country?
Mars comes up, appears in the sky. The king makes the shoots of the white sweet-potatoes grow in the country.
Now he makes the sweet-potatoes favorable, the sky favorable, the ancestors favorable.
What does the king make fertile in the country?
The crayfish, the *poopoo* fish, the conger eels, the *nohu* fish (*ape* fish?), the king makes fertile in the country.

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643 Now he makes the crayfish good to eat and the *poopoo* fish, the moss, the ferns, the
778 *kavakava-atua* plants.
What does the king make fertile in the country?
533 The mosses, the ferns, the *kavakava-atua* plants, the king makes grow in the country.
539 Now he makes the mosses favorable, makes the ferns favorable, he makes the roots of the *kavakava-atua* favorable.
What does the king make fertile in the country?
He introduces the tuna fish, the *atu* fish, and the *ature* fish.
Now he makes the tuna fish favorable, he makes the *atu* favorable, he makes the *ature* favorable too.
What does the king make fertile in the country?
The yams, the taro, the sweet-potatoes the king makes grow in the country.
Now he makes the yams, the sweet-potatoes, the sugar cane, the shoots favorable in the country, in the shade.
What does the king make fertile in the country?
The turtle, its abdominal shell, its legs—these he makes grow in the country.
Now he makes the turtle, its abdominal shell and its legs favorable.
What does the king make fertile in the country?
The stars, the sky, the heat, the sun, the moon, the king makes fertile there above.
Now he makes the sky, the heat, the sun, and the moon favorable.
What does the king make fertile in the country?
Going up, he makes the dew, the heat, the sun, the moon favorable.
Now he makes dew, the heat, the sun, the moon favorable.
What does the king make fertile in the country?
The chiefs, the chiefesses he makes favorable in the country.
Now the king makes the chiefs, the chiefesses favorable.
What does the king make fertile in the country?
Worms, earwigs, beetles, the king makes fertile in the country.
Now he makes the worms, the earwigs, the beetles favorable, he makes them grow in the country.

643 The first fruits of all the products of the land were presented to the king
241 with great ceremony (described by Roussel, 190, p. 360). "Only the king could initiate the harvesting of crops which were tapu as long as he ordered them to be."

643 Certain priestly functions related to nature were incumbent on the king.
782 In time of drought he must send his son or another *ariki-paka* to perform rites beseeching Hiro to make rain fall. It may be assumed that the king also prayed to Hiro for rain, that he had something to do with the fertilizing of the fields, and that his power was beneficial to chickens.

SUPERVISION OF SEMI-RELIGIOUS ACTIVITIES

643 Assisted by a priest, the king had to eat in every house before it could
845 be occupied by its owners. He also had to perform rites on a new boat. All
553 twins were presented to him to be given a "royal name." I was unable to
342 obtain details about this name or the mystical beliefs connected with twins.

Tradition tells that the recently tattooed young men gathered in Anakena
643 and exhibited their designs to the king who sat on the head of an old image
304 to examine them. If he was satisfied with the work of the artist, he said to the young man, "Ka hoa ki Tuna-roa" (Go to the ahu Tuna-roa), but if he

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considered the motifs poor, he said to the unfortunate bearer, "Ka hoa ki ahu runga" (Go to the lower ahu). He criticized the form and size of the ear piercings and probably the ornaments worn in them.

The king's interest in the reading of the tablets by the *rongorongo* men and his knowledge of the script is discussed later (pp. 390-391).

ROYAL INSIGNIA

The legend of Rokoroko-he-tau (p. 130) tells how the people brought wreaths (*mukomuko*) and standards (*huhu*) to the first-born children of the king. Those who presented the first fruits to the young king Gregorio were accompanied by two files of boys holding branches of *hau*, peeled and stained dark. The symbolism of such ensigns is not known, but they were probably brought before the king as a token of respect. Natives still remember such sacred ornaments and tell how once each month the people went to Anakena to present the *ariki-mau* with *huhu* and *maru*. (Tepano insisted, however, that the presentation was made once a week.) My informant translated the word *huhu* as "standard" and described it as a pole with three to five small, red, white, or black sticks inserted into it. The ends of these sticks were decorated with cock feathers, and the top bore a long feather garland (*maru* ?). Similar ones are still made by the natives for trade. The *huhu* and *maru* were planted in the ground in front of the king's house and left there until they rotted. Standards, used as marks of honor and friendship, were carried before some of the early voyagers who landed on Easter Island (18, p. 128; 53, vol. 1, p. 281).

Te Haha, who in his youth was attached to the court of King Nga-ara, told Routledge (194, p. 242) that " . . . if the people wanted chickens, they applied to the Ariki-mau, who sent him with *maru*, and his visits were always attended with satisfactory results."

POLITICAL POWER

The king was not a ruler in the ordinary sense of the word. Roussel (190, p. 260) makes the following general statement concerning the king's influence in the political system of the island that seems to be very near the truth:

> In late times, although the kings were still surrounded with respect by the natives who considered their persons to be sacred, their authority was nil and entirely disregarded. It has passed entirely into the hands of the mata-toa [warriors] who decided everything and carried on the war without beforehand consulting his majesty.

Thomson (215, p. 473) states that the ancient government was an arbitrary hereditary monarchy. The king ruled over the entire island and was never involved in intertribal wars. "Disputes were settled by the king without regard for law or justice. No great homage was paid him and no tax was expected of the people."

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643 The *ariki-mau* was respected because of his mana, his influence over nature, and the magic connected with his person, but he was certainly not a ruler or civilian chief. As a direct descendant of the first king who settled on the island and thus of the gods, the *ariki-mau* had a status superior to that of other chiefs or heads of tribes, but he probably had little authority over them. Though the king did not interfere in the intertribal wars, he may occasionally have acted as mediator in quarrels. His lack of real power and exalted position is shown by the following historical incident which took place just before 1862:

> The Ngaure tribe defeated the Miru whom they took as slaves (*mata-kio*). The king, his son Kamakoi, and his grandson Maurata were held in captivity in the territory of the Ngaure and were not rescued until a few years later by the Miru who had in the meantime united with the Tupa-hotu.

In view of all available evidence, kingship on Easter Island may be defined as follows. The king was the man with the most aristocratic pedigree and the most exalted social position on the island. His person was overflowing with mana and his sacredness caused him to be feared and respected. His function in society was to insure through his very being the abundance of crops and the fertility of the ground and to exercise his influence on animal life. Certain religious activities were derived from his sacredness and he held supervisory control over various practices connected with religion.

Priests

793 554 [565] Very little information is available about the status of priests (*ivi-atua*) (family of the gods) except that, according to Roussel, their social rank was next to that of the *ariki*. They were feared and respected, and the attitude of the common people toward them was probably similar to that observed toward the king or other high chiefs. The fact that native traditions, referring to certain important ceremonies, insist that these were performed by *ariki-paka*, implies that some high priests belonged to the families of kings. Very few allusions to *ivi-atua* are made in legends, but by analogy with Mangareva and the rest of Polynesia, we may suppose that they had a great deal of influence and played an important part in the history of the island. Their power and prestige seem to have been annihilated before the missionaries came, since they made no opposition to the introduction of Christianity. Accounts by the missionaries do not allude to them.

Experts and Craftsmen

463 An expert in any profession is called *maori*. The chanters or reciters of genealogies were *maori*, as well as the carvers of the big images, and the wood cutters. The common Polynesian word *tahunga* seems to have been known formerly, but it is not in the modern language. *Tahonga* is a formative

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(*tapu-peera, rahui*). These tapu cairns vary in size, some being as much as 1.5 meters high and others consisting of a few stones piled up. (See 171, p. 174; 87, p. 28.) Now Easter Islanders connect the cairns with funerals, the only reason for a tapu that they clearly remember. That tapus were not associated with death alone is indicated by other customs and fears which have survived. Tapu beliefs are displayed in the precautions surrounding a child's head; in the belief that stomach aches are provoked by sexual intercourse with *ariki* women; and in the sacredness of spots where navel cords have been buried. Certain places on the island—among them the strip in front of the ahu—were considered tapu, and thus dangerous for people who stepped on them. According to Geiseler (87, p. 28) not only the statues and the ahu were tapu but the island of Motu-nui upon which no one was allowed to land except in the months of July, August, and September. Early visitors (90, p. 95; 83, vol. 1, p. 568) observed that the natives were sometimes displeased when they walked over the paved area of the ahu or on the pedestals of the statues, or even when they examined the stones of the monuments. However, the islanders must have thought that the foreigners were not subject to the same tapus as themselves and that they had nothing to fear from the gods, since they did not seriously attempt to keep them away from monuments.

The king (*ariki-mau*) was highly tapu because of his mana, and the bird-man, after being designated by the god Makemake, was considered tapu for a year and lived in seclusion. Several foods were prohibited to the king and other *ariki*, but other foods could be eaten by the common people only after they had been presented to the king (p. 132).

Both the words *rahui* and *tapu-peera* refer to temporary and arbitrary prohibitions laid on a piece of land by a chief or some influential proprietor. This measure prevented trespassing or reserved the produce of the land for the individual or for some special occasion. The sign of the *rahui* was a branch hung near the tapu place or a pile of stones erected on it. All crops were under a royal tapu until the first fruits were offered to the king in a ceremony before the harvest. Roussel (190, pp. 259, 428) writes: "Woe to the man who dared to violate the tapu. He payed for it with his goods and even with his life." Death inflicted by beating with a club was the penalty for such a crime. Routledge (194, p. 232) says that the spot marked by a tapu could not be approached in daylight. The owner of a piece of land on the coast could protect his rights to fish or collect mollusks on the shore along his estate by setting up a *rahui*. "This *rahui* consisted of three piled up stones on land contiguous to the portion of the sea he wanted to reserve for his own use" (190, p. 429).

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Direct evidence that the corpses of the victims were eaten is given by Zumbohm (230, vol. 6, p. 117) and Geiseler (87, p. 31) who writes as follows:

> The oldest people remember, and still recall, that war prisoners were eaten. When many of them were caught they were shut into huts built for the purpose in front of the stone idols and they were kept in them and fed until the time of festivities of the victory feast. On occasion of such ceremonies the prisoners were killed in honor of the gods and eaten.

Ceremony to Invoke Rain

A faint memory has been preserved of ceremonies performed to invoke rain from the god Hiro. When a drought threatened crops the people resorted to various magic rites and to the *ariki-paka* (noble priests?) who addressed prayers to the god. According to Routledge (194, p. 242), the people anxious to obtain rain first asked the king for help. The king then sent to the scorched fields a younger son and another *ariki-paka*. No reference to this special choice was made by my modern informants, but Estella (79, p. 21) was also told that the king acted as an intermediary between the people and the priest.

The *ariki-paka* who presided over the ceremony were painted "on one side red, on the other black with a strip down the center" (194, p. 242). They went to the top of a hill, taking seaweed (*miri-tonu*) and pieces of drift coral (*karakama*). The magical significance of this offering of things soaked with sea water is obvious. The priest addressed a prayer to Hiro to obtain rain (*he ako ki te ua*, he sang for rain). A fragment of this prayer is still remembered by the natives:

E te ua, mata-vai roa a Hiro e,	O rain, long tears of Hiro,
Ka hoa mai koe ki raro,	You fall down,
Ka rei mai koe ki raro,	You beat down,
E te ua, mata-vai roa a Hiro e.	O rain, long tears of Hiro.

The natives told Estella (79, p. 31) that the priest remained on the hill where he had made the prayer until rain came, even though he might wait a long time. When the water fell, he descended the hill and ran about so that the rain would follow him and benefit all the land.

Private Rites

Certain rites were observed in behalf of a household or an individual. A new house could not be occupied until suitable rites had been performed and special food eaten in it. The food prepared for this purpose was cooked in a special earth oven and served to the priest in a corner of the new house where he ate alone. There is some evidence that the same duty was likewise incumbent on the king.

Rites for fertility of the fields required priests to bury or spread pieces of coral or seaweed on the plantations. Such charms had a favorable influence on the crop.

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hind. Everybody else carried *ao* (dance paddles) and they shook their bodies."

Early information gathered at Tahiti by Admiral de Lapelin (129, p. 110) describes the bird-man as he came down from Orongo after the finding of the egg:

> The man who was lucky enough to find the first egg or the first small bird hurried to show it to all the other competitors. They shaved his head, his face was painted in red and black; all those who had found eggs after he did constituted his retinue. These warriors distributed eggs to those they wanted to keep near the king who was elected for a year, without any lack of regard for the king who reigned by right of primogeniture.
>
> Each with an egg on his hand and the new majesty with a bird hanging on his shoulders walked about in the surrounding places singing and dancing. The new king designated two or three persons who must be sacrificed for the prosperity of his reign. It was the choice of the victims which caused a war among the tribes every year.

The new bird-man went to Rano-raraku where he remained in seclusion in a house whose foundations may be seen at the foot of the volcano, close to the giant statues. Other houses on the slope of Rano-raraku and near ahu Tonga-riki were designated to Routledge as having been used by bird-men. More likely, although no proof may be produced for or against it, seems the tradition that there were houses for *tangata-manu* in most of the larger settlements which had important image ahus. Routledge (192, p. 351) considers this multiplicity of *tangata-manu* houses to be a modern development. She was also told that the bird-men of the western tribes took up residence at Anakena.

The *manu-tara* egg was emptied after three days, filled with tapa, and hung up inside the bird-man's house. It was credited with great magical virtues and the natives believed that it made the food supply more abundant. The deep-sea fishing season opened with the coming of the first *manu-tara*. Routledge (194, p. 262) says that " . . . till their arrival all fish living in twenty or thirty fathoms were considered poisonous."

The seclusion of the bird-man lasted one year, during which he was under strict tapu, especially during the first five months. Routledge (194, p. 248) says that he could not leave the house, "sleeping all the day, only coming out to sit in the shade." He was not allowed to bathe himself or to eat food other than that which was prepared for him in a special oven. His wife might go to Rano-raraku, but she could not "enter his house and he hers, on pain of death." The *tangata-manu* was attended by an *ivi-atua*, who, according to Routledge, was not an ordinary priest, but a poor relative of the hero. This attendant or priest remained in the same hut which was divided in half by a partition. He prepared the food for the bird-man and himself, cooking his own in a separate oven. Clark (52, p. 145) heard that the bird-man did not wash or cut his hair or nails during his year of seclusion.

Thomson (215, p. 482), Routledge (194, p. 264), and I were all told that gifts of food were brought to the *tangata-manu*. He was entitled to the first

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sugar cane. To refuse to contribute food for the maintenance of the bird-man was an offence which could be punished by the burning of one's house. The bird-man dropped his old name and adopted a new one, mysteriously revealed to him; it became also the name of the year. Thus the bird cult was the basis for a convenient system of chronology.

All those who, like the missionaries, were on Easter Island when the bird cult was functioning, stress the violence which inevitably followed the selection of the bird-man. They imply that he had temporal powers similar to those of a chief. Ollivier (165, vol. 39, p. 256) states that the bird-man had "tyrannic power." "The defeated are shamefully relegated to a corner of the island where they starve and die because of cold. With the installment of the new power, burnings and plunderings start. Woe to the man who owns some sweet potatoes or chickens. The chief [bird-man] with his followers will fall upon the houses like birds of prey."

Gana (86, p. 33) was told, probably by the missionaries, that the bird-man was an "important chief whose functions last a year" and whose attributes were of a military nature. Roussel (190, p. 427) writes that the bird-man had authority for daily and nightly marauding and the fooling of the people and for "spending the year in continuous childish and wanton feasts." During the harvest feasts "the *mata-toa* [bird-men] left their caves of the Mataveri mountain," and swooped down like vultures upon everything which suited them (190, p. 428). Rarely did these feasts pass without trouble, since the *mata-toa* quarreled about the booty. The man who was designated by Make-make as bird-man for the year was entitled to a large share of the food distributed at feasts.

Routledge gives no hint of the military sway of the bird-man, such as implied by missionary accounts. Perhaps there is some connection between the acts of violence recorded by early observers and the statement by one of Routledge's informants that those who did not contribute food to the bird-man were punished by having their houses burned. Perhaps the bitterness of the defeat or the insolence of the victorious group led to serious arguments and even war. Evidence given by the last of the surviving contenders or by witnesses of the bird cult stress the dread consequences these contests had on the peace of the island.

The old men who informed Routledge gave her 86 names of bird-men; probably most of these names were also those of the years when each man was made *tangata-manu*. Routledge (194, p. 226) remarks that "chronological sequence was achieved with fair certainty for eleven years prior to the final celebration at Orongo. In addition to the bird-name, the name of both winner and *hopu* were ascertained, with those of their respective clans." When Tepano's paternal uncle, Rue, became *tangata-manu*, he gave his bird-name,

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by the use of other substantives to indicate the nature of a particular tablet (*kohau o te ranga, kohau o te pure*).

As already mentioned (p. 137), the chants associated with the tablets were recited by learned men or bards called *tangata rongorongo*. Reading of the tablets or chanting from them was taught in special huts, comparable to the schools of learning (*whare wananga*) of the Maori. At Te Hare-titaha in Anakena I was shown stone curbs which were supposed to be remains of the most famous school for *rongorongo* men. There were similar houses in other districts. The atmosphere and the methods in these houses of learning were described by some informants on the authority of old men now dead. Unfortunately these traditions are colored by details of the missionary school system:

> The school houses were open sheds with thatched roofs. In the morning the children waited outside the house until they were told by the teacher to enter. To the teacher's salute of *maira* they answered *kokoea*. Each student knelt before a flat stone (*maea rongo*), which served as a writing desk. The assistant instructor (*te pahu*) counted the children to find out whether any were missing. The teacher started the lesson by reciting a prayer from a tablet. Then the children were taught to make string figures, each of which was associated with a chant that they must memorize. There were chants for love, for the dead, for saving people from dying, for addressing noblemen, and for the multiplication of birds and fish.
>
> Banana leaves were used as copy books and on them the pupils practiced the engraving of signs with a sharp bone from the frigate bird (*makohe*). Te Haha said the copy books were sheaths from the banana trunk (194, p. 214).
>
> According to Routledge, Te Haha was taught by King Nga-ara, but Charli Teao, the nephew of Te Haha, told me that his uncle had been trained by Taki, another uncle of Charli. Taki had been taught by Ngangiriva. Te Haha described King Nga-ara as "holding a tablet in one hand and swaying from side to side as he recited. Besides giving instruction, he inspected the candidates prepared by other professors, who were generally their own sons; he looked at their *kohau* and made them read, on which he either passed them, clapping if they did well, or turned them back. Their sponsors were made personally responsible. If the pupils acquitted themselves creditably, presents of *kohau* were made to the teachers; if the youth failed, the tablets of the instructor were taken away" (194, p. 245).

Besides the annual gathering and chanting by *rongorongo* men at Orongo during the feast of the bird-man, these learned bards met once a year at Anakena to chant for the king. People came from all over the island to hear them "read" from the tablets. This public "reading" must be considered as a general contest between *rongorongo* men and a test of the ability of each. Visitors arrived with *huhu* (sticks with feathers) to which turmeric was tied, as a courtesy to the king. The food to be consumed during the feast was supplied by the king, who was aided by people of neighboring districts. Te Haha described to Routledge (194, pp. 245-246) one such gathering, which he attended in his youth:

> Both King Nga-ara and his son, Kaimako . . . sat on seats made of tablets, and each had a tablet in his hand; they wore feather hats, as did all the professors. The

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rongorongo men were arranged in rows, with an alley-way down the center to the Ariki. Some of them had brought with them one tablet only; others as many as four. The old ones read in turn, or sometimes two together, from the places where they stood, but their tablets were not inspected. Te Haha and his comrades stood on the outskirts, and he and one other lad held *maru* in their hands. If a young man failed, he was called up and his errors pointed out; but if an old man did not read well, Nga-ara would beckon to Te Haha, who would go up to the man and take him out by the ear. Our informant repeated this part of the story identically months later, and added that the Ariki would say to the culprit, "Are you not ashamed to be taken out by a child?" the offender's hat was taken away, but the tablet was not inspected.

The entire morning was spent in hearing one half of the men read; there was an interval at midday for a meal, after which the remainder recited, the whole performance lasting till evening. Fights occasionally ensued from people scoffing at those who failed. Nga-ara would then call Te Haha's attention to it, and the boy would go up to the offenders with the *maru* in his hand and look at them, when they would stop and there would be no more noise. When the function was over, the Ariki stood on a platform borne by eight men and addressed the *rongorongo* men on their duties, and doing well, and gave them each a chicken. Another old man, Jotefa, gave a different account of the great assembly, by which the Ariki sat on his stoop and the old men stood before him and prayed; according to this version they either did not bring their tablets or their doing so was voluntary. In addition to the great day, there were minor assemblies at new moon, or the last quarter of the moon, when the *rongorongo* men came to Anakena. The Ariki walked up and down reading the tablets, while the old men stood in a body and looked on.

In conformance with his supervisory duties Nga-ara is said to have traveled round the island and to have stayed for some while with the experts in each district. Routledge (194, p. 246) heard of a man of the south coast who was considered to be "too big a man to have a school." He also went about visiting and inspecting schools.

Tradition states that when Nga-ara died his body was carried to the ahu on three tablets, followed by the *rongorongo* men. The tablets were buried with him.

The *tangata rongorongo* of Easter Island are better understood when compared with those of the Marquesas and of Mangareva. In the Marquesas the *tuhuna o'ono* was "master chanter, tribal bard, or ceremonial priest, who presided in all important ritual, and served as repository and teacher of sacred and traditional lore" (104, p. 145). He was also the teacher of sacred chants and director of chanting at family feasts. The word *o'ono* is the equivalent of *rongo* since in the Marquesan dialect the *r* is dropped and the nasal velar (*ng*) becomes *n*. In the Marquesas there were tests of the *tuhuna o'ono* by other members of the same profession and contests between *tuhuna o'ono* of different tribes (104, p. 229). Any *tuhuna* who was judged in error by a majority of the masters gathered was immediately deprived of his title and could never lay claim to it again.

On Mangareva also there was a class of chanters or "intellectuals" who were termed *rongorongo* (*taura rongorongo*). They were not priests, properly speaking, but were responsible for the sacred chants for important

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1774. MARCH. round portion of the black glaſs above-mentioned inſtead of eyes. They had likewiſe ſome ſmall crooked human figures made of wood, of which we could not learn the uſe or ſignification; we did not, however, think that our ignorance on this ſubject intitled us to call them idols, which is too commonly the judgment paſſed upon the works of art of unknown nations.

"After leaving this hut we ſtill advanced to the northward, without ſeeing any new objects. A man and a woman met us from ſome neighbouring houſes, each with a large matted bag, of very neat workmanſhip, filled with hot potatoes, and placed themſelves by the ſide of the path where we were to paſs. As we came on, the man preſented each of us with ſome of the roots, and having diſtributed a portion to the whole party, he ran with amazing ſwiftneſs to the head of our file to ſhare out the reſt, till he had given away the whole. He received a large piece of cloth from me, which was the only requital for an inſtance of hoſpitality, of which I never ſaw the like even at Taheitee. Soon after the natives told us their *aree*, or *hareekee*, or king was coming towards us. Several men came on before him, and diſtributed ſugar-canes to us all in ſign of friendſhip, at the ſame time pronouncing the word *heeo**, which ſignifies friend. We now ſaw the king ſtanding on a hill, and walked up to him, Mr. Pickerſgill and myſelf making him

* *Hoa* at the Society Iſles; *Woa* at the Friendly Iſles.

ſome

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some presents. We asked for his name, which he told us was Ko Tohreiai; adding that he was *aree* or king. We were desirous of knowing whether he was only the chief of a district, or of the whole island; upon which he spread out his arms, as it were to include the whole island, and said *Waihu*. To shew that we understood him, we laid our hands on his breast, and, calling him by name, added his title, king of Waihu, at which he expressed very great satisfaction, and conversed a great deal with his people on that subject. He was a middle-aged man, rather tall; his face and whole body strongly punctured. He wore a piece of cloth made of the mulberry bark, quilted with threads of grass, and stained yellow with turmerick; and on his head he had a cap of long shining black feathers, which might be called a diadem. We did not perceive any great degree of homage or attention paid to him by the people; and indeed in so poor a country there seems to be nothing which he could have reserved for himself, without a manifest incroachment on the natural rights of mankind, which might have produced dangerous effects. When we wanted to continue our march he seemed to dislike it, and desired us to return, offering to accompany us; but seeing our officer determined to proceed at all events he desisted, and went with us.

1774. MARCH.

"We marched to an elevated spot, and stopped a little while to take some refreshments, and to give Mr. Hodges time to draw some of the monuments, near one of which

we

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from motives of cleanlineſs, like the people of Tonga-Tabboo, but fortunately ſeemed to be leſs ſubject to leprous complaints. It is eaſy to conclude that the king of ſuch a people cannot have great and conſpicuous advantages over the commonalty, nor did our party obſerve any thing of that kind. The religion of the Eaſter Iſlanders is ſtill wholly unknown to us, becauſe abſtract ideas are not to be acquired in ſo ſhort a time as our ſtay. The ſtatues, which are erected in honour of their kings, have a great affinity to the wooden figures, called TEE, on the chief's maraïs or burying-places at Taheitee; but we could not poſſibly conſider them as idols, though Roggewein's people would paſs them for ſuch upon us. The fires which the Dutch interpret as ſacrifices, were only made uſe of by the natives to dreſs their meals; and though the Spaniards ſuſpected them to be a kind of ſuperſtition, they were, perhaps, equally miſtaken, becauſe the ſcarcity of fuel obliged the inhabitants to be careful of it, and to prevent their proviſions being uncovered after they had once been put under ground with heated ſtones.

We are unacquainted with the amuſements of the people of Eaſter Iſland, having never ſeen them engaged in any kind of diverſion, nor taken notice of a ſingle muſical inſtrument among them. They cannot, however, be entire ſtrangers to amuſements, ſince Mardo-wahai, who ſlept on board,

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in a part of the southern ocean far removed from that in which the gaunt cliffs of Easter Island confront the unceasing assault of the waves. It is surrounded by vast ocean depths which occur in the expanse of 2,500 miles of ocean separating the island from the American coast on the east and from the nearest land 1,750 miles to the west, namely the Gambier Islands. Easter Island is a volcanic island, and a lofty one, like the Marquesas and Hawaii, in contrast with atolls and coral islands which are low-lying. If one could denude such islands of their dense coverlet of mango-scrub, breadfruit trees, bamboo and cocoa palms, drain the springs, and cover them with a growth of yellow herbage—then such an islet as Hivaoa of the Marquesas will come to resemble Easter Island.

It is the bareness of Easter Island, the result of its colder climate and exposure to the four winds of heaven, which has given birth to these misconceptions. The idea of Polynesia does not fall in with a barren rocky landscape, monotonous pampa, or a pale sun incessantly obscured by rain-clouds.

These talkative Pascuans,[4] like naughy laughing children, whose language and appearance is Polynesian without a shadow of doubt, can no longer be denied those ancestors who carved the notorious statutes, engraved the puzzling symbols of *rongorongo* and set up round the island's coast all those innumerable monuments (actually 184).

At what date was Easter Island first settled? There are excellent reasons for believing that it was between the twelfth and thirteenth centuries of the Christian era. We have certain traditions relating to the peopling of Hawaii and New Zealand. The Polynesians established themselves there at the end of their migrations between the eleventh and thirteenth centuries. Considering the remoteness of Easter Island, it is reasonable to suppose that it was peopled about the same time. The approximate date of the colonization of this island is, however, based upon the list of the Pascuan kings. This list has been narrated to several observers; the most complete is that of Thompson[5] who obtained it from an informant who was a survivor of the pagan period. One may assume a length of 12 years for the reigns of each of the 57 kings in the list. Maurata, the last Pascuan who was certainly regarded as a king, died in 1864, as a result of the Peruvian slave raids. Calculation gives us exactly the beginning of the thirteenth century.

[4] We may well adopt the English equivalent to avoid the clumsy "Easter Islanders."—Translator.

[5] A paymaster of the American Navy, and the author of a short archeological account which, considering that it was based merely upon a visit of 8 days, is remarkably informative and full. (Rep. U. S. Nat. Mus., 1889, pp. 447–552, 1891.)

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stone, so easy to fashion is the stone of this island. This argument[1] can be used against those who put forward the alleged difficulty of carving igneous rock as a reason for attributing them to a race more skilled, more strong, and gifted with better implements than the Polynesians.

But to return to the first Polynesian colonists. Very probably the fauna and flora of Easter Island were extremely restricted. But following a custom common in all their migrations, they would have taken with them plants, seeds of the most useful vegetables, rats, and chickens. They colonised the island, and their first settlements were at Anakena on the north coast and at Akahanga on the south. They set about conserving rainwater, for Easter Island has no springs. At the same time they learned how to protect the crops against the continual winds. They were familiar with certain crafts which they hold in common with all Polynesians—the making of cloth from mulberry bark (tapa) and the working of wood and stone. The latter craft differs only from that found in the other Polynesian islands in respect of the size of the monuments. The abundance of easily carved stone was the sole predetermining cause of the Pascuans erecting on their island the largest statues found in the islands of Oceania.

The technical skill of the former inhabitants is seen also in the manufacture of implements and weapons of obsidian, and of fish-hooks of stone and bone. These last were made with human bone, for man was the only mammal available with bones large enough. The Pascuan writing on wood shows their skill and taste. There have been found a large number of rock paintings and engravings, the former magical, the latter merely trial pieces.

The Pascuan house, when it is above ground, shows many technical analogies with the Hawaiian house, which, like it, is roofed with tufts of grass set on a framework of boughs. Whenever possible, the Pascuans settled themselves in artificial caves or holes in the ground, which provided a less precarious shelter in war and against thieves. The fowl house was built on the same principles.

The Pascuans were tatooed, and on feast days they painted their bodies with appropriate emblems.

Ten family groups or clans divided up the island between them. The king belonged to the clan of Miru. His place of residence changed, and his role was indeterminate. Many taboos, notably in the matter of food, isolated him from Pascuan life. He did not engage in the wars which often broke out between the clans of the west and north and those of the east (Kotuu against Hotu Itl). He pre-

[1] Unfortunately, however, the mystery mongers are not as a rule open to reason. Mystery is their religion.—Translator.

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sided over the experts in *rongorongo*, the repository of ancient traditions, genealogies, etc. They used tablets (Kohau *rongorongo*) engraved with signs as an aid to memory. The signs of *rongorongo* were the object of organized teaching.

The Pascuans practiced a form of double inhumation. The body was exposed on the *ahu* until the flesh dried up or turned to dust. The bones were then placed in the burial chambers. Sometimes the skull was preserved separately. There was a general fear of the spirits of the dead. Commemorative feasts were held in front of the tombs, where chickens were exchanged for a ritual purpose. The statues at the foot of Rano Raraku represent the dead. Several of them have tatoo marks which were still used during the historical period. Later, the images of the dead also were placed on the *ahus*.

The Pascuans had a large number of gods, the chief of whom was Makó Makó. The same name appeared in other Polynesian mythologies. It would seem to be connected with the source of that which supplied the material needs of the Pascuans—cultivation and fishing. It was thus connected with the Marquesan Tiki, whose mask it resembled in almost every detail. Makó Makó is the creator of birds. One of the less obscure features of his cult is the indication, by means of birds, of a man [10] who probably represents the god, and who each spring gives place to another. Ritual feasts at which human flesh was eaten were a part of this cult, as well as also initiation ceremonies at puberty.

The end of the old culture was hastened by the arrival of Europeans, who revealed a new world to the Pascuans, a world totally different from their own. From that time onward they lost without any effort both peace and the joy of life. Their restless spirit drove them to undertake the most savage warfare, which decimated them, ruined their culture and overthrew its monuments. Works of art were given up, traditions were lost, so that even the memory of their existence has perished. The whalers and slavers completed the task of destruction already well advanced. After being Christianized the Pascuans became ashamed of most of their past history, and essayed, not without success, to remove all traces of it from memory.

[10] Tangata Manu—bird man. He was the first to get possession of the first egg laid by the bird *Mesuiora* (hereat) in the island of Motunui (spring equinox).